

18
O. C.'S

LETTERS FROM THE SOUTH,

ON

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN VIEWS

RESPECTING

SLAVERY AND THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

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WE commence to-day, on the first page of the DAILY COURIER, a series of letters from a gentleman on a southern tour. He gives, from a southern stand-point, his impressions and convictions from what he sees and hears of the views and feelings of sober Christian men respecting the effects of our northern temper and action respecting Slavery. The writer is not a politician, nor holding or seeking any political office, state or national; but he is an intelligent, thoughtful citizen of the North, looking at the great problem of American Slavery and its agitation, from a higher and broader platform than many do. We think it will be seen that he regards it with a more comprehensive view of the great scheme of Providence respecting it.

LETTERS FROM VIRGINIA.

FROM THE BOSTON DAILY COURIER.

Number I.

RICHMOND, VA., July, 1857.

A few days' delay in this beautiful city, especially so at this season, gives me time to send you a sketch of what I see and hear. This is not my first visit to this state or to this city. No man coming here from the North with candor and intelligence, competent to take such a comprehensive view of the great problem of American slavery, as to estimate the good as well as the bad resulting from the system, but must wish that the Northern mind believed the facts about the *former* as readily as it does about the latter. The day must come when this will be so. Facts, candor, reason and Christian charity, will in time triumph over passion, ignorance and prejudice, and assume dominion in the conclusions of all reasonable men.

The Human and the Divine Side. Slavery is one of the great historical facts, permitted to exist under the providential government of the infinitely perfect One, over a fallen and depraved race. Resolved into its primary elements, it is the old theological question, Why does evil exist at all under His perfect government? It is a great question of humanity, as well as of individual personal liberty, and of Divine Providence as well as morality. Existing under His providential government, over a fallen race, it must have a *God-ward* side as well as a *man-ward* side. Has not the Northern mind looked exclusively at the *man-ward* side, and overlooked the *God-ward* side—at the abstract question of the right and the wrong involved, and not at the *humanity* of the interests involved in a hasty emancipation. With the North emancipation is a *theory*. With the South, i. e., with all good men, it is the great question of *humanity*.—What shall we do with them? and what will the colored race, what will humanity, civilization, or Christianity gain by their universal emancipation *now*? This is the question which must ere long hold the Northern mind above passion, prejudice, theories and politics, and to more Christian, humane and practicable efforts to benefit the colored race.

Vigilance of the South. The South watch with increased vigilance the sayings and doings of the more moderate school of anti-slavery men. They regard all schools, radical and moderate, as aiming at the same result—the dissolution of the Union for the sake of abolishing slavery. From their South-

ern stand-point, in the midst of the system, knowing the interests involved, this appears only insane, but inhuman and unchristian. It is unreasonable that they should so judge, in view of the history of this agitation for thirty years?

Rule or Ruin the Issue. When have these men shown a candid Christian temper, or been willing to regard known historical facts, or the obvious indications of divine providence, either in regard to the evils of slavery, or to the difficulties which envelop the subject, religious and humane, social and political?

The best men here freely say to me, We want slavery done away, as soon as it can be, with a regard to the best good of the colored race and of the country. And then add, But we find that your conservative men at the North, who agree with us in this, are allowed no freedom of opinion as to the measures to effect this result,—no conciliation, compromise is allowed in this matter. It is more and more evident to us that *rule or ruin* is the platform on which Northern Abolitionists will stand; any man stand who wishes to aid us in throwing the system.

Divide and Conquer. When they have once introduced their dogma into our ecclesiastical or religious institutions, have they ever let go their hold? They have accomplished their object? They divided the Methodist and Baptist Church into sectional churches. They split the American Board of Foreign Missions into two foreign missionary societies. Those of these men who still acted with the old Board, a few years since, got that Board on its lee shore. The agitation of these men was a principal cause of the first division of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Since that vision they have agitated every year the New School branch of this large and influential Presbyterian body, until, this year, they have compelled the conservative men in that body to yield to their demands so far as to constrain the Southern churches to withdraw and form another sectional branch.

For three years past, they have assailed the Executive of the American Tract Society, a transnational and catholic society, alike an honor to the country and to our catholic Christianity; and to the South with misrepresentation, exaggeration and abuse which ought to make honorable men blush with shame. They have done this when they might easily have known, and did know, that the Society

ly and fairly planted itself, by its publications, on the side of freedom, and against every kind of repression. But, alas! they had done this in a mild Christian way, and not in *their way and form*.

They persevered, regardless of truth, charity, facts, the delicate relations and the limits of such a duty, till, for the sake and hope of peace, their and for a Committee of Inquiry was yielded to them. The committee of fifteen honorable men have ordered, and stamped many of their charges with shoddy, placed the financial business relations of the Society above suspicion, and left the question of lashing on slavery just where they found it, and the Constitution of the Society places it, viz.: to the honor of its Publishing Committee, in whose wisdom the committee of fifteen express "great confidence." This report these gentlemen eagerly accepted, either from policy or from satisfaction, at the time will show. If from satisfaction, they are satisfied with small favors, very small indeed, who that has watched the development of this Society, when once it gets into the mind, has not noticed the havoc it makes with the judgment, the sense, and the charity of its subject, expects that anything the Society can publish, short of the most ultra Garrisonism, will satisfy them. A hundred of the more conservative are satisfied with what good men South would receive, a hundred others would not be, short of the most ultra cal doctrines and measures. The first step in this direction will be sure to be followed with the and for the second, and that to be a longer and bolder one, until the whole column has wheeled line with ultra radicalism, ready for the word of Prince of Radicals to charge. The leaders of this Society have already intimated that, if the Society does not soon issue a tract which suits their notions, the present committee shall be removed, and a new put in their place next year.

When have these men been known once to let go their grip, till they could "rule or ruin."

The Great Organ. One of the founders of the organ of these men, and now its sole proprietor as I understand, is a wealthy and respected stian merchant. His deep purse can fill the royal chair with the corps of polyglot D.D.'s of his stripe, who now sit there. Has he not avowed one object in the establishment of the *Independent*, To put our national benevolent societies right; that they had already got the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and American Home Missionary Society right, and they mean to put the American Tract Society right?

Put them Right. The sequel has shown what means. 'Put them first, on to our smooth and grate anti-slavery railroad; then, second, on to underground road; then, third, on to the Garrison track. The Garrison track is parallel with , but his car is too far ahead now for us, and carries too many dead-heads to pay expenses of riding; but we have the biggest boiler in the world, great capacity for the increase of steam, and can carry one hundred pounds to the inch and never stop.'

And we intend to convince this great North and West, at least, that we are right, and of course are to put all other important matters in church state right. That is our great mission.

History and observation will not fail to convince independent men that putting these societies right, is to get them to acknowledge the *New York Independent* as their dictator and Pontifex Maximus, as to the church or benevolent society which bows to its arrogant insolence or bows to its dogmatic dictation!

Certain spiritualist rappers of St. Paul's day undertook to exorcise evil spirits. One of these spirits replied, Jesus we know and Paul we know, but who are you? Acts xix. 13-15. What claim has that journal to such superior knowledge, either of Jesus or Paul, as to entitle it to lord it over God's heritage, and especially in doing this demand the freedom of the Southern black man, while at the same time, it would enslave the Northern white man and his institutions to its own opinions and spirit.

Ask the candid men in New York and Brooklyn what has arrested the progress of the Congregational churches in their cities, and placed them in a stand-still condition for four years past? Their answer will be, the "*New York Independent*." For say what they please about that journal not being the organ of any one denomination, it is well understood here, that that journal is, and means to be, the exponent of Congregationalism, and it is notorious, that without the money of three or four wealthy Congregationalists, it could not have been established, nor could it have reached its present circulation without the patronage of members of that body.

'When we are ready, and our object, rule or ruin, requires, we can easily switch off on to the Garrison road, as we did on to the Fremont track and on to the Kansas track, and with our express train we can soon overhaul the Garrison train. True, we have found that somehow, contrary to our confident predictions, a power greater than our boiler has switched us off both these tracks, and we have had to run back to let off steam. We carry no dead-heads in our car, not even in our express lightning train, for we are ahead of the old fog notions of conciliations and compromises, magnanimity and courtesy, patience and prudence. And as to the notions of that venerable Apostle, found 1 Cor. 13, we ran all that out of sight in our third year of running, and soon after we left behind us the maxims of the Great Teacher—Matthew xiii. 29, and Luke ix. 54, 55. All these were well enough for the semi-barbarism and darkness of the past. But our modern ethical philosophy and our higher philanthropy so elevate us above those old Greek records, that with our lightning press and big boiler they are superfluous to us.'

Who does not see that the members of the Tract Society must, ere long, rally to its rescue, or it fall of its high and beneficent mission. *Verbum sat.*

Home Missionary Society. They have persevered in pressing their dogmas on the Executive of the American Home Missionary Society—an institution originating in an enlarged, national and Christian philanthropy, and designed to establish the Christian church and its ordinances, and aid the feeble struggling churches all over our vast country, and in doing this, to know no North, no South, but only to aid the young and feeble to manhood and strength. But onward they pushed their crusade against this noble society, till recently they got it on the hip, by constraining it to write over their own door—*No Gospel here for great sinners!* Could the boldest infidelity write or desire a bolder nullification of the last command of the Redeemer of the world, to preach his Gospel to every creature? Does it not flatly contradict his declaration, that he came to earth and died because men were so great sinners as to be hopelessly lost without his mission and death. Good men here look on this decision with amazement.

A Pertinent Inquiry. They ask, is this the fruit of your boasted schools of theology, superior culture, charity, and progress in biblical interpretation? Especially are they amazed, that Christian men and doctors of divinity, should be so blinded by their

zeal, not for any essential Christian doctrine, but for a mere ecclesiastical whim, or mode of church discipline, as to refuse aid to a needy congregation of sinners, because the church worshipping with these tolerated in its communion Christian men of reputable character, save this one thing, they hold slaves.

Slaveholding Common in St. Paul's Day. Did Paul refuse to preach the gospel in Rome, in Athens, in Ephesus and Corinth, when he knew, as every student knows, that there were thousands of slaves in those cities, and many in those churches which he formed and to which he ministered the gospel, and also knew, as stated by some historians, that in his day the Roman Empire, over which he went preaching the gospel, contained from forty to sixty millions of slaves? Do any of his epistles to these churches contain a law or rule not to aid the feeble, struggling churches because they tolerated slaveholders? Slaveholding was so general and common, it must have formed the rule rather than the exception. Is it to be supposed that, among the numerous converts to Christianity, there were no slaveholders, when so large a portion of the population embraced it? or that they were required to emancipate their slaves on entering the Christian church? If this was so, how can we account for the *silence* of the *epistles* to those churches on this subject so replete with instructions and warnings on Christian duties and responsibilities to servants? Was Divine inspiration so mistaken as to fail in guiding Paul to teach to those churches and converts a duty so important, that disobedience disqualified them for Christian fellowship? Plainly in Paul's estimation and in his day a hasty emancipation was for some reason neither humane or Christian. Nor did he regard, inspired of Heaven as he was, the modern anti-slavery dogma of our day, so essentially a part of the gospel he preached and charged his successors to preach to all nations, that God would not own it to the salvation of the soul then, nor in our country now, unless it is preached? If he did regard the doctrine of the anti-slavery men of our day as so essential to the faithful preaching of the gospel and the salvation of men, how shall we account for his neglect so to instruct the Christian ministry and church for all time, when he failed not to anathematize Judaism and other heresies for all time?

Was the Apostle the Old Fogey of his Day? Plainly, Paul was not skilled in our modern interpretation, ethics or logic. The light of our modern anti-slavery gospel had not dawned on his great mind and heroic heart. Is it any wonder that magnanimous Christian men at the North, who read their Bibles and history, and reverence divine providence, should turn their contribution from the Home Missionary Society to the Southern Aid Society, which assists needy churches in the South, because they are sinners above all who dwell in Jerusalem?

The late Meeting in Boston. The spirit manifested by the anti-slavery men, par excellence, at the late meeting of the Branch American Tract Society in your city has confirmed good men here in the unchristian doctrine and spirit of these men. They look through their eulogies of Dr. Adams and of his books, as bunkum—a pretence to cover a bitter spirit of persecution—and their disavowal of such a spirit, as hypocritical and pious cant. Is it strange or illogical for sensible men, not politicians, but Christian men and ministers of the gospel, to be sensitive and suspicious of anything done, or published, at the North, to aid and instruct them how to deal with the difficult problem of slavery? In my next I will give you some of the reasons why good men here regard the Christianity of some

men of the North as aiding the infidelity and disparagement of the Bible so prevalent in North.

Yours, o. h.

Number II.

RICHMOND, Va., July, 1854

Mr. Editor: In my last, I stated some reasons why Christian men here regard with suspicion everything said or done at the North about slavery. They read the history of this agitation for the thirty years, they see that it has steadily progressed to one result,—the dissolution of our union of states in order to abolish slavery.

All Anti-Slavery Agitation Hastening to Result. In this opinion the Southern mind is more united. It sees that even the more conservative anti-slavery feeling of the North is fast growing into sympathy with the ultra and infidel school, Garrison—that the evangelical pulpit of the North is becoming auxiliary to the godless philosophy, inhuman philanthropy, of that school. I do suppose that the evangelical anti-slavery ministry of the North will now admit this, or that even a lion in the pulpit of the Church of the Puritans, Union square, will admit what is so evident to others. Yet it is reported that he said, in one of his lectures, "that to talk, as some men do, about God, in his providence, bringing negroes into that they might be converted and elevated to aid the evangelization and civilization of Africa, is enough to make the Devil vomit." When has delity, or atheism, uttered more bitter scoffing, the providence of God. Is it any breach of character to say of a minister of the gospel, who allows himself to speak thus, when ministering in the name of the place of the Lord Jesus Christ, that he is *lamed*, nor can any man tame him? Has Garrison school ever uttered anything more irreverent, if not blasphemous and infidel? more derogatory to the providence of God, or to the name and office of a Christian minister?

If I remember correctly, it was reported in one of more of your city papers, that the occupant of one of your prominent Orthodox pulpits declared that the thronged and excited audience lately, that the mingling of religious negroes at auction was bringing God and the Holy Ghost to the block. Can we wonder that sober men here believe that the anti-slavery Christianity of the North is running rampant infidelity, and breaking down the power of the Bible on the masses, and demoralizing the conscience? I do not suppose these men will admit that they are now, Jehu-like, driving an infernal chariot, but so sure as reason and reverence for God's word and providence will, ere long, resume dominion in the human mind, will they look at the great problem of slavery from another and higher stand-point than they now do, and with a clear vision of God's plan for governing, in order to redeem and elevate a depraved race.

So long as their anti-slavery zeal expresses itself in a temper so unchristian, in language so vituperative and irreverent of God and his providence, in measures so violent, what sensible sober men North or South, can fail to see that all this tends to the same result—the dissolution of this Union, inevitably as the bolder and more direct efforts of the Garrison school in their warfare on the Constitution?

With either, the inhuman result—eminently human to the colored race—is only a question of time. Can the most judicious men here be expected of their Christianity or their patriotism to show humane regard for the colored men under their care, because they are suspicious of or object

ling published or done at the North, with the ent or approval of such men, however loudly boast of the superiority of our Northern Christianity, morals and humanity. Nor is this infidelity and sectional result, and the bitter fruits have already developed, the only ground of the fiction and alienation felt here.

credulity of the North respecting the True Condition of the Slaves. The *incredulity* of these anti-slavery men, is shown by their unworthy dist of statements respecting the actual izing of slavery upon the moral and religious ictor of the colored people as a whole—and of r humane treatment—statements by one on the going from the North with the usual igno-e and prejudices of a Northern man, respecting ery—a man every way as competent to take as prehensive and intelligent Christian view of the ent and prospective results of the system on the red race—to estimate facts as candidly, and re-as honestly, as any other man, North or th—a man whose testimony, on *any other sub-* no man in Boston would question—a man so writings on other subjects are received as lid and truthful and worthy of confidence—red as such by scholars and by his brethren in country, and in England, and as an honor to Christian literature of the age—a man of whom of the first Christian scholars of England, writ-to a friend in this country on reading his dis-see, says, “with his fine imagination and his tless style is the Washington Irving of sermon ers.”

A distinguished Christian scholar of the North said that to write the “South Side View,” was th living a life for. This is the judgment of a who, though born in Virginia, was educated has lived from early youth in the North, and been for fifty years intimately acquainted with practical working of the system, and is one of last men, to express a hasty and ill-considered ion on any subject. His opinion, with all can-men who know him, we are willing to place in scales with the hasty, heated opinion of a thou- Northern men, who have never resided in the th, and whose information is limited to novels, to instances of individual violence and wrong, gerated to influence the North, and so greedily llowed, as demonstration of the tyranny and op- sion of all slaveholders. Men here, of the high- character for intelligence and candor, in the istry, in the Church and out of it,—men of long rience, large observation and wise philanthro- and who are believed on all subjects of which r are informed, and whose word would be taken esitatingly in any court, or in any business ession, assure me that Dr. N. Adams’s South e View of Slavery is a fair, candid and honest ement of facts respecting the good and the evil neeted with the system. To this testimony I rfully add my own. More than thirty years e, my business called me to reside in South olina, and in the most extensively cotton-pro- ing district. I have had occasion to travel in state since, and also in Virginia, East and West. h all my insurmountable objections to the con- stance of the system a moment longer than the e welfare, not of one individual slave, but of the red race in this country, requires, and Divine idence opens the way to place them in a posi- more favorable for this, I must say that the ements and views contained in that book corre- l with what I observed and learned while in the at of slavery. Who that has read that book e not know that it contains facts and opinions di- vly opposed to the system, and condemnatory of

the wrongs and abuses incident to the system, as well as to all despotic power. This is admitted by Christian masters, and acknowledged to be so be- cause the abuses and wrongs are stated with a kind and candid spirit and in decorous language.

There are, to my knowledge, many masters in the South, whose consciences have been quickened by this book to correct these abuses, and who will testify that that much maligned book and its au- thor’s visit have done more toward reforming these abuses and wrongs than all the anti-slavery books and novels ever written at the North. Now, when men here see a Northern gentleman who has the courage, honesty and magnanimity to state the results of his own careful observation and inquiry, in the kind and Christian spirit of his book, pursued with such a malignant and bitter spirit as Dr. Adams has been, and this too by some of his own brethren in the ministry, and as I am told by some who had not even read his book, who can be surprised at the suspicions of the South? or what reasonable man would expect that Southern brethren should yield their own better knowledge and equally, at least, correct judgment and conscience to the dictation of their Northern brethren, as to the best manner of dealing with this great problem of American slavery, especially when they treat a Christian brother with so much heat and passion for having simply ex- pressed his own honest opinions on the subject?

I have been asked to explain this treatment of Dr. Adams by Christian ministers. Why do they pursue him with such bitter hate? why seek to drive him from the Publishing Committee of the Ameri- can Tract Society?

They say to me that society is *national*; it be- longs as much to the South as to the North; from the beginning the South united cordially with it, merged their own tract societies into it, and have steadily contributed to its funds; that the South has not and cannot have (being so remote) a resident member on that committee; but Dr. Adams is a man who understands the South and slavery as it is, and has dealt fairly with the subject, and is a man in whom we have confidence. Does not Christian candor and charity demand some deference to the feelings of Southern Christians, in a society whose fundamental principle is *union and harmony in essential truths, and liberty and diversity in un- essential*.

A False Issue. The only defence I could make was, the assertion of Dr. Adams’s opponents, that he does not represent the public sentiment of the North on the subject of slavery. I assured them that it was evident, from his book, that he was anti-slavery in *principle*,—opposed to its continu- ance a day longer than its removal would be a blessing to the colored race, and was opposed to its extension anywhere,—but that he was not anti-slavery in the spirit and measures of his opponents for its removal. As to his not representing the sentiment of the North, or of the members of the society on slavery, they earnestly objected to this as the test by which to determine his fitness to act on that committee. This, they say, is raising an out- side issue, foreign to the spirit and object of the society. Besides, where is the evidence that Dr. Adams does not represent the sentiments of the ma- jority of the members of the Tract Society?

The True Test of his Qualification. They insist that the only valid question is—does Dr. Adams re- present, in his own spirit, character and sentiments, the *evangelical character and catholic spirit and object* of the Society, as expressed in its constitution. The constitution, being the *law*, to the Committee, in acting for the Society, as well as to its members in electing its officers, they insist, is the only proper

standard by which to judge of his qualifications to serve on the Committee. They strenuously object to making his sympathy with any sentiment prevailing at any time, on any outside question of reforms, any more than his political preferences, when politics are so mixed with these reforms, or his views on infant baptism, or predestination. These reforms, as such, they urge, are not embraced, or implied, in the object, scope or spirit, of the Society, and, besides, sentiment or opinion in regard to them is ever changing, and never long stable.

Then again, they say, if the objection of his opponents is the true test, how can they tolerate him any longer, as a member of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who decide on all the Board publishes, or does. Logically, how can they stop short of driving him from that Committee, from the pulpit of Essex street church, from his ministerial association, and from the society of Christian gentlemen. For if he is not fit to be on the Tract Committee, much less is he fit to fill a so much more responsible position. Must not that be a very illogical logic that stops short of this result?

The Grand Issue Changed. In the treatment which Dr. Adams and his book receives from his Northern brethren, it is plain enough to us, that they have changed the issue on slavery, from that of the bondage of the colored man in the South, to that of the *freedom* of the white man of the North!

How is it, that those who, while they claim to be champions, *par excellence*, of freedom, cannot tolerate freedom of *opinion*, and a kind and candid statement of facts, on the testimony of an eye witness, merely because they oppose their theories and prejudices. Has not passion and ignorance vitiated your Northern logic and your Christian charity? I must confess, that I felt the reasonableness and force of these views, and as yet I do not see how they can be evaded.

In my next, I will give you, what I have learned of the effects, on good men here, of the late action of the Tract Society, in accepting the report of the Committee of Inquiry. o. c.

Number III.

RICHMOND, VA., July, 1857.

In my two former letters I stated that the sectional and violent spirit and measures of some anti-slavery men had caused good men here to be suspicious of anything which the moderate and conservative men of the North, who are opposed to slavery, might do, or publish on the subject, even with a candid and Christian spirit.

Report of Tract Society's Committee. Hence it is that the report of the late committee for inquiring into the doings of the executive of the American Tract Society has been received with distrust by some, and by direct opposition from a convention of ministers, representing one of the largest denominations in the state. They object to the composition of that committee, in that it was *ex parte*, composed exclusively of Northern men. Not only was no Southern man put upon it, but no one was invited from the South to appear before that committee and state the views of the South and the interest involved in their decisions. In this matter they feel that they have not been treated with fairness and confidence. They feel this the more, inasmuch as the Society belongs to the South as well as to the North, and has its life and strength in the Christian confidences, equally, of good men of both sections. Then they feel that the South has also a deep and vital interest in the question at issue, equal to any the North can have. Again,

they object on the ground that in the resolutions adopted in the report, anti-slavery societies are recognized as religious societies, and that slavery is classed with intemperance. This they consider an insult to the Christian brotherhood of the South; and also the hasty adoption of the resolutions embraced in the report, without explanation, debate, or inquiry whether they would be acceptable to Southern members, and could be executed without changing the society from a national to a sectional one, and thus exclude ten millions of our population from its beneficial operations.

They ask, why did those men, who for three years have been trying to force the Society into the abolition ranks, and who clamored so loudly for this committee, so eagerly adopt their report, unless they expect the society will issue such tracts as will *suit them*, merely, and which, if they do, must inevitably, and at once, drive the Society from all those states. Nothing but the recollection of Dr. N. Adams on the Publishing Committee has saved the society from this result, and from arraying the whole South more decidedly against its further operations there. I state the feelings which prevail here, let candid men judge of their reasonableness.

Protest of Baptist Ministers. These views have found expression in the resolutions adopted, after much consideration, by a Convention of Baptist ministers held in this city. These resolutions are as follows:—

1. Resolved, That slavery is a subject in regard to which Evangelical Christians in the United States do not agree; therefore, the discussion of the subject in the publications of the Society—especially if (as we have reason to believe) in such publications the sentiments avowed by the Society are to be advocated—will be a violation of the first article of its constitution, which requires its publications to be only such as are calculated to receive the approbation of all Evangelical Christians.

2. Resolved, That the sentiments expressed in the report of the committee, and adopted by the Society, are contrary to the views, and reproachful to the character, of Southern Christians, and that they cannot consistently coöperate with it while these views are maintained.

3. Resolved, That we advise all our churches and brethren, for these reasons, to withhold their coöperation from the Society while it maintains its present position.

These resolutions are based on the supposition, that the Publishing Committee would issue tracts on slavery as proposed in the 4th resolution of the Committee of Inquiry, and that they would not regard the limits and conditions which were designed, to guide their wisdom in doing this, as expressed in their 9th resolution. They were discussed and adopted on this supposition. But these resolutions of the Baptist convention do plainly present a valid constitutional objection to their issuing any tract at all on slavery. This is the very subject in dealing with which the Committee of Inquiry express "great confidence" in the wisdom of the Publishing Committee.

This denomination is numerous, and its ministers, as respected for their intelligence, piety and devotion to their work, as any of the great evangelical body in this state or country. The membership of their churches numbers some 89,000.

The Committee Placed in a Difficult Position. Similar resolutions of dissatisfaction or direct opposition have been expressed by other ecclesiastical bodies in the South. These decided expressions must place the Publishing Committee of the Society in a trying position, and compel them to hesitate before issuing any tracts on slavery. The constitution of the Society declares, that the tracts it issues "shall be calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians; and that the Publishing Committee, which consists of six members, shall contain no two members from the same ecclesiastical connection; and no tract shall be published to which any member of that committee shall object.

Thus the constitution makes this Publishing Committee the supreme court of the Society, and gives it *de sole* power of deciding what can be published, from their decision no appeal can be made, nor in the society overrule their decision except by changing the constitution. This feature of the organization is indispensable and vital to a union society, composed, not of denominations, as such, or of churches, but of individual Christians of different denominations. When a tract on slavery is offered to this committee, will Rev. Dr. W. B. Williams, who represents the Baptists on that committee, consent to issue such a tract in the face of the earnest protest of so large and respectable a portion of his own denomination—declaring that, in the manner of dealing with this vexed and converted subject, they are not agreed with many of their Northern brethren? But I presume every member of that committee is as jealous of the rights of other portions of the evangelical body as he is of that with which he is connected, and will doubtless feel the force of the difficulty as promptly as Dr. Williams can. Nor is this protest their only embarrassment. The Committee of Inquiry recommend that the society issue tracts on the moral duties and evils which grow out of the existence of slavery.

The True Question. It seems obvious to good men here that two questions must limit this advice. Does the constitution and object of the Society authorize publishing on these disputed topics in a certain contingency? In the protest of Southern members does not such a contingency now exist? 2. Does Christian wisdom judge that such publications will do more evil than good? The right or the wrong involved in slavery is not the question. But the true question is what can and what is it wise or such a society to publish, under existing circumstances, respecting the duties and the evils growing out of the system.

Deal Even-Handedly. Suppose they publish on the duties of masters to the slaves, as Paul taught masters in his day. The master says, I do not object to this, I am quite willing to be reminded of my duties and responsibilities; but the same apostle, in the same connection, teaches the duties of servants to their masters. I wish them, also, to be instructed, and one of their duties is, to serve me, not with eye service, but faithfully, which clearly means that they must not run away without my consent. This is the view taken here, and I understand that one of the ablest pastors in this city has already written a tract on the duties and responsibilities of servants, in which he urges that one important duty of a servant is not to leave his master. I understand that the writer intends to offer this tract to the committee, as soon as they issue one on the duties of masters.

Will Northern anti-slavery members of the Society consent to this? The Rev. J. P. Thompson, who moved the adoption of the report of the Committee of Inquiry said, "he liked the report, both upon its negative and its positive side." Is not teaching that it is morally wrong for slaves to run away from their masters, to that gentleman *emphatically* the negative side of this subject? Will the Independent, which he edits, consent to the Society's issuing such a tract? But this Committee, whose recommendation he so eagerly accepted, is the Committee which his paper so earnestly demanded. Moreover, their report also says, the Society must deal *even-handedly*. Must not that be a queer logic and a queer consistency which attempts to justify, to common sense, his objection to such a tract? This view of the subject prevails here among men respected for their intelligence, candor, and piety. They see that

this report has placed the Society between two fires. The anti-fire at the North has kindled an anti-fire at the South.

Between Two Fires. If the Publishing Committee attempt to pour cold water on the Northern fire, it is not certain to prove oil to the Southern, and change the Society, from a national to a sectional one, and destroy its catholic character? Does its constitution authorize them to do this? This question I will answer in my next. Yours, J. C.

Number IV.

RICHMOND, Va., July, 1857.

I take up the subject which closed my last: is the Tract Society authorized by its constitution, or by the advice of the Committee of Fifteen, to publish, in the present state of facts relating to this matter, anything on the subject of slavery?

Legal Opinion. The President of the Society, Chief Justice Williams, gave to the Committee, more than a year since, his opinion on this point, which I find in the annual report of the Society, 1856.

The standing of Judge Williams as a jurist, as well as a large-hearted Christian, is well known in New England, and entitles his opinion to serious consideration. By the word charter the Judge evidently means the constitution of the Society. The charter, strictly speaking, is the act of the Legislature granting corporate powers. The thing chartered or legally incorporated was the Society now existing, with a written constitution, but had no legal life. The constitution was laid before the Legislature of New York that they might know what it was they were asked to charter, or give a legal life to.

The following is the substance of the *Opinion of Chief Justice Williams*:—

* * By the words of your charter, the tracts published were to be such as are "calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians."

Can the Society, without other evidence, denounce all these Southern churches, and all these individuals, as not evangelical? What authority have they for this? and how would such a sentence be regarded in courts of justice?

When this Society was incorporated by the name of the American Tract Society, I will venture to say, that no one who voted for that charter supposed that there were no evangelical churches of any denomination south of the Potomac, or that the effect would be to confine its operation to the free states.

Now, unless these Southern churches of these various denominations have renounced their creed, or been denounced by the ecclesiastical tribunals to which they belong, it seems to me that they must be treated as of the same faith; and that the officers of the Tract Society have no right to say they are not evangelical Christians; and if so, the Tract Society would be bound to issue no tracts which would not be calculated to secure their approbation.

The sentence of excommunication which some, in their heat, have pronounced against Southern ministers and Southern churches, is *ex-cathedra*; and officers acting under your charter would not, in my opinion, be justified in law or conscience, in adopting it. If these Southern churches remain evangelical churches, and Southern Christians are still evangelical Christians, it is their right, and your duty, to abstain from publishing even truths, the publication of which they would not approve; and I much misunderstand the instrument under which you act, if those who are dissatisfied, however they may complain of the charter, have any reason to complain of the course pursued by those whose actions must be regulated by it.

Hartford, March, 1856.

THOS. S. WILLIAMS.

This opinion makes it clear enough that the Publishing Committee are not only justified *legally*, as well as morally, in not issuing tracts on slavery, in the present position of Southern Christians, but they are expressly advised not to do it by the late Committee of Inquiry, as given in the 9th resolution of their report, and is thus stated, and is the last of the series:—

That with great confidence in the wisdom of the Executive Committee, we anticipate that their action, in carrying out the principles contained in the previous resolutions, will be such as

will tend to promote the widest and best usefulness of this Society throughout our whole country.

The three committees—Publishing, Finance, and Distributing Committees—constitute the Executive Committee, while the former has the sole decision of what shall be published. This resolution was undoubtedly designed to explain the fourth and limit the extent to which the Society should publish, if at all, on slavery, and also to submit this to the *wisdom and judgment* of the committee, where the constitution places it. It does *more* than this; for it gives them *prohibitory* advice, and states the condition which should *restrain* them from publishing on slavery, viz.: “that *their wisdom* in carrying out the *principles* contained in the previous resolutions *will be such as will tend to promote the widest and best usefulness of this society throughout our whole country.*”

Great Wisdom Reposed in the Committee. One of these *principles* is, publishing on the duties and evils of slavery. But to what extent and in what manner may they do this? Whenever the doing of this is agreed to by Southern Christians and will tend to the widest and best usefulness of the society in the slave states, or, in fewer words, will not tend to exclude it from those states. They say this subject can and ought to be discussed in a fraternal and Christian spirit. True: but will *present* circumstances justify this? *When* can and ought they to do this, and *when* refrain from doing it, even in *this spirit*? Just when the committee, in *their own wisdom*, decide not to do it in view of the contingency just stated, and not in the wisdom of *their advisers*, nor even in the *remarkable wisdom and fraternal spirit* of the *New York Independent* or Dr. Cheever, nor that of anybody or person outside of the Society; for this advisory committee say they have “*great confidence*” in the *wisdom* of the *executive* of the Society, but not a word about their confidence in the *wisdom* of the *Independent* or Drs. Thompson and Cheever.

What, then, the Society shall publish, or to what extent, or form, or manner they shall discuss this subject, or *whether at all*—whether they can, or ought to do this, *at all*, is thrown back upon the *wisdom* of the *Publishing Committee*, where it was before, and where the Constitution places it. This is plain enough to Christian candor and common sense, and is sufficient to justify the *wisdom* of *silence* on this subject.

Political Aspect of Slavery. But their advisers say, in their 4th resolution, “the political aspects of slavery lie *entirely* without the proper sphere of the Society, and *cannot* be discussed in its publications. But who does not know that the *political* bearings of this subject are, in our day, inevitably mixed with its *moral*, as well in the *pulpit* as on the rostrum, and are its aim, if not its staple? Who does not know that *truck and dicker* is traded in some of the former as well as on the latter.

Let the Society issue a tract, breathing even a fraternal and Christian spirit, and how long before certain ultra politicians, both North and South, whose capital in their trade is slavery agitation, would use it to scound the war cry of abolition against the Society, and thus drive out its army of colporteurs from every southern state? Can the Christians of the South, who are in the minority, resist the storm of prejudice and alarm which these men would raise, by the political use they would make of such tracts, be they ever so discreet and truthful? No doubt the founders of the Society did design to exclude the political aspects of slavery *entirely* from its sphere of operations. But who can prevent ambitious politicians, in this free country, from using a judicious tract, on this subject,

and in our times, and especially one spicy enough to suit these complainers, so as to pervert its design, and defeat the very end it was intended to promote. What *great confidence* can be reposed in a wind which should not regard even the liability to this?

When a boy, I was taught that *wisdom* consists in adapting means to the end sought. What wisdom but folly, or blind passion, when it fails to judge truly, and “*even-handedly*” between the payable evil as well as the good results of the means employed to secure the end proposed. The great Apostle, inspired with Divine wisdom, would not what was *lawful*, unless it was also *expedient*. What ground can “*great confidence*” be reposed in men who should fail thus to use their *wisdom*? If such a trust the Committee of Inquiry have placed in the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society, in their “anticipations of their action carrying out their resolutions” on this very subject.

Want of a Good Temper. As matters now stand, good men here feel, decidedly, that not only on constitutional grounds, and in accordance with the advisory committee, but as a matter of Christian wisdom and expediency, the Society must be silent on the subject of slavery. What then is the rest of these unreasonable and unchristian assaults on this Society, but just to prevent it from any long pursuing its beneficent work in the South, where has ever been welcomed and aided—and from doing the very work where it is so much needed, a greatly blessed of God—a work, too, which all good men will, ere long, have the candor to admit has accomplished more for the ultimate and permanent removal of slavery than all the anti-slavery societies of the North ever have or ever can do? Would a good temper fail to see and admit this? The day will come when the Christian sentiment of the North will acknowledge that it is the wisest, most humane and efficient agency employed for this, because it uses the means which Divine wisdom has devised and ordained to regenerate, sanctify and elevate fallen man, in whatever condition, and in doing this give to both master and slave, all the liberty their present and eternal welfare demands.

For these reasons, stated more at length than intended, some cool, judicious and Christian men here hold their judgment and feelings in abeyance, and for the present refrain from committing themselves against the Society, and will wait, before they do this, till they see what the Society issues on the subject of slavery.

In my next, I will send you some account of the extent and results of the work of the Society in this State. Yours truly, C. C.

Number V.

RICHMOND, VA., July, 1857.

The Tract Society in Virginia. In my last I proposed to give you a brief statement of the extent of the results of the work of the American Tract Society in this State, especially by its system of colportage.

I am happily aided in this by the last annual Report of the Superintendent of this work for the last twelve years, and also for a summary of the results of the last twelve years. For eight years past he has made his head-quarters in this city. I learn that he is a man of uncommon energy and tact, has made himself acquainted with the religious wants of the State, and gained the confidence of good men of all denominations; and by his kind and truthful statements of the religious and educational destitutions, has awakened in the churches a deeper sympathy and a more generous liberality to supply them. I regret to learn that the suspicious and

of religious men, caused by the late action of the Society, has produced so much coldness and suspicion in some good men, and direct opposition in others, as to constrain if not compel him to close his labors and leave the State, and that the band of colporteurs, which he had gathered around him, untrained for their work, are also closing their boxes and retiring from the field, and that many churches have already shut their doors to his appeals for aid in the work. It seems to me that every large-hearted Christian, whatever may be his theories about slavery or his measures for removing it, must feel grieved at this result. For, let the condition of the slave be as deplorable as represented in the North, is he not, like the white man, a human being—his soul precious—his salvation the greatest concern, and the Gospel his only hope of this, and the sweetest solace in his bondage? This only remedy and hope for him the colporteur has borne to his abode, without let or hindrance from any man, and God has blessed it to the salvation of hundreds of colored races.

The experiment of twelve years has shown that slavery is, by no means, so great an obstacle of access, with the Gospel, to the bondmen of the South, as Romanism is to the Roman bondmen of the North. The Roman priest of the North unblushingly denies to his vassals what the Southern master freely gives to his slaves. The former forbids, on penalty of perdition, the Protestant Gospel to his charge, while the latter not only welcomes it, but also cheerfully aids in imparting it to his, and often personally assists in instructing and persuading him to embrace it. I am asked, why do not our Northern brethren denounce, in the same vituperative style, the Romish slave system of the North, as they do the negro slave system of the South; and demand of the Catholic priest that he at once not only emancipate the souls of his slaves their really inalienable heritage, from their bondage to his will; and while he holds them in his iron grasp give to them that priceless liberty which the Son of God died to secure to them, the liberty which the Southern master so cheerfully gives to his, and by which so many of them obtain the higher and nobler freedom of the soul from the tyranny of sin and from its fearful penalty in the future world. Are not those, who in their blind zeal against slavery, would push the Society into a position which will prevent them from any longer laboring in such a wide, needy and open field, straining at a gnat while yet they quite unconsciously swallow a whale?

The Good Done. There have been employed, in Virginia and North Carolina, during the year ending in March, eighty-nine colporteurs of the Society. The time they devoted exclusively to this work, is equal to the labor of one person for forty-four years. They visited more than 62,000 families, with more than half of which they held religious worship and conversation. They found one in twelve of these families had no religious book except the Bible, and two thousand seven hundred families had not that book. They gathered nearly three thousand assemblies for prayer and to hear on the subject of religion. They sold 90,000 religious books and received for them \$15,617. Besides the sale of so many for cash, they gave to the poor and destitute in books and tracts what cost \$4736, or 28,000 books.

The receipts, from sale of the various publications of the Society, and from the donations of the good people in these two states for the year, is \$21,493 57. The expenditures, including every item of cost, is \$19,295 40—leaving a balance over all expenses to aid the work in other States, of \$2199 17. This is the work of a single year. That your readers may the better appreciate the importance of

the Society and its work to this State, let me give the statistics of colportage in Virginia for twelve years past:—

The time spent in this work by these laborers, for this period, is equal to that of one man for 288 years. The amount they received from the sale of the Society's books, &c., is \$90,758, and the amount given to the destitute \$24,082. The total amount of these good books, circulated in this State alone, in 12 years, \$124,840. The average cost to the Society of these books is probably 20 cents a volume—making 624,200 volumes. Then add to the good influence of these, the 15,000 religious meetings held by these men for prayer and familiar addresses—the 5600 destitute families supplied by them with the Bible also—their religious visits to 262,370 families, and of the prayers offered in 146,700 of these—and must not such an amount of moral and religious truth, circulated and accompanied with fireside, personal religious conversation, with so many families and individuals, by these simple-hearted godly men, exert a wide and permanently good influence in the intellectual and moral training of the population of this great State for this world and the next? It should be remembered that the people of this State, as in the South generally, do not live in villages and cities, as in New England, but are scattered over a large territory, too remote from each other to unite, on the social principle, to build churches and school-houses, and maintain teachers, as we do at the North. Hence the necessity and value of this itinerant and aggressive agency, bearing to the scattered and isolated homes of the people, far removed from bookstercs and educational means for their children, these printed lessons of religious truth, which are all the means of intellectual and moral improvement they possess.

These publications being in form and style adapted to attract, instruct, reprove and quicken, the heart, the intellect and the conscience, of all classes and conditions in life, from childhood to age, must exert a highly salutary influence. Hundreds of these families testify that the first religious visit ever made to them—the first prayer ever offered in their houses, was by one of these men; the first religious book they ever owned was a gift from this Society by their hands. Thousands of children, growing up in ignorance and vice, without any means of moral or intellectual improvement, and surrounded by no good influences, they have gathered into Sunday schools, and supplied with a good book. Hundreds of poor widowed mothers have been supplied with these, gratuitously, who were unable to buy a book to teach their children. The Sabbath-breaker has been restrained, drunkards reformed, sepietics and scoffers at religion converted, and backsliders returned to the fold of the Good Shepherd.

What an Infidel Thinks. Among other instances of the interest which all classes take in this work, the Superintendent gave me this: While himself laboring as a colporteur on the mountains of Virginia, he collected the people of one of the towns, and laid before them the destitution of their county, proposing that they should raise a hundred and fifty dollars, towards supporting a colporteur a year in the county. In the audience was a man of influence and property, who was a sceptic, and had not been in a church for twenty years. He heard his proposition, and his statement of the object of the work, and of the facts respecting the destitution of the people, of which he was personally cognizant. He then arose, and proposed that if his neighbors would take up the project, he would make up the balance of the sum required, and then left the church.

The next morning, when the colporteur called, the gentleman inquired how much he needed to make up the hundred and fifty dollars, and was told, only ten dollars. He expressed great surprise, and said he had expected to be called upon for a hundred. "Sir," said the colporteur, "I am curious to know what motive a man who does not believe in the truth of Christianity can have to disseminate it." "Ah," said he, "if you had been here with your good books and Bibles twenty years ago, our lands would now be selling for ten dollars an acre, instead of ten cents; our mountains covered with sheep, and our valleys dotted with factories to make the wool into cloth, and this is motive enough for me to aid your work."

These men, during the period under review, have established some one thousand Sunday schools, and given, or sold, to each, a few small books as the nucleus of a library. They have gathered some 50,000 destitute and neglected children and adults into these schools, and prevailed on some few of the more enlightened, living in their vicinity, to teach and care for them. Some twenty or thirty young men, once colporteurs, have been led, by their experience in this work, to prepare for the Christian ministry, some of whom are now preaching the Gospel in the State.

The Superintendent of this work reports that "although our work has been a fraction less in the amount of the labor performed, yet, the amount of manifest good done is greater than in any previous year. More individuals led to embrace and know the Gospel experimentally, more children gathered into Sabbath schools, and more persons induced to attend church. The entire expense of these operations for the twelve years is \$70,253 46. To meet this expense, the good people of this State have contributed to the Society \$62,709 74. For obvious reasons of expediency, the details of these labors among the colored people are not stated in the published reports of these colporteurs; but I learn from the Superintendent that in his long experience as a colporteur, and from the monthly report to him of all in the State, they all have as free access to the slaves, to talk to them on the subject of religion, to sell or give them books, as they have to the white population—that the number of readers among the people, but especially among the slaves, is steadily increasing, and that nearly all the books the latter possess are those of this Society—that their improvement, intellectually and morally, is evident to all—that all the colporteurs hold religious meetings with them on Sunday—that it is common when the colporteur calls at the house of the planter, for either himself or his wife to call in their servants to buy a book, as they generally have some money, and for those who have none, the master pays. Sometimes a slave buys a package of tracts to give to his brethren and to his master.

The work is so eminently adapted to reach all the destitutions of the State, and its good results so manifest to the people, that their interest in it and liberality in sustaining it has steadily increased till last year they more than paid the cost by \$2000. The same is true respecting this work in all the Southern States in proportion to the labor expended and the efforts made to inform and interest the people. The last year 320 colporteurs labored in the slave States, nearly one-half the whole number in the service.

The Good Results Contradict Northern Prejudices. Who can doubt that the placing of so many good religious books in the homes of so many of the most destitute and scattered families of these States, with the attending good influence which these must exert upon parents and children, is a

work which God does approve and all good men will. These books are there, not to die as does the voice of the living teacher, but to be read and re-read, cherished as an heirloom, and transmitted from generation to generation—quicken the intellect and the conscience of children and parents, and educating them for this world and the next. What Christian or patriot but must rejoice that the good men of different denominations in all sections can, forgetting their minor differences, harmoniously unite in so simple and efficient an agency as that of this Society in bearing to the people of this great country, bond and free, and in every language they use and however remote and destitute their conditions, the grand and primary truths which God has ordained and promised to bless, for the moral education, the highest and best civilization, and for the salvation of the soul of man and of the nation?

What candid thinking man can believe, or what logic can justify his really believing, in order that all this good, or any part of it, may be realized, there must go with this agency, the modern dogma of anti-slaveryism, as an *essential* doctrine of the gospel. I submit, whether the brief statement of the results of their labors in these States, does not refute the notion that fidelity, in the pulpit and in our religious literature, requires the anathematizing of slaveholders and their exclusion from the Christian church, simply because God in his Providence has placed them in that relation with its burdens and responsibilities. Must not that be a narrow, shall I say, a godless, philanthropy, and a perverted Christianity, that would drive this noble Society to publishing on this heated, vexed and divisive subject of the day, and thus close this open door to needy millions, and chill the thousand hearts now open to its influence and destiny by its labors, quickened, purified and elevated in character in these States? Who can, or should be willing to assume the responsibility of doing this in the vain attempt to realize a theory founded so much in ignorance of the true condition of the colored races in the South, and living on prejudice, and influenced by party politics? Can that be a Christian temper which demands this?

While here I have obtained statistics of the churches of the different denominations in this State, which I hope to give you in my next.

Yours,

O. C.

Number VI.

RICHMOND, Va., July, 1857.

I find many good men here, as well as at the North, who greatly deplore the unhappy prejudices and alienations which exist between the two sections. Long-cherished political jealousies and rivalry have of late been strengthened and increased by the persistent Northern agitation of slavery. A portion of the Northern mind has allowed its political and social aversion to this institution to take a bitter, dogmatic and doctrinally religious type, to which everything good and sacred, North and South, must bend or break. This must, of course, narrow the vision and vitiate the judgment, till the mind sees only one phase of this great problem, and that only and intensely black and earthly, while the great beneficent future results to a race and to a continent for all time, which a wise and unerring Providence is sure to evolve in His own time, from this present evil, is not thoughtfully or at all considered. Political events, exaggerated by party politics, have of late intensified Northern feeling and action, and these, reacting on the sensitive and suspicious Southern mind, have driven sober and Christian men here to a repellant position in self-defence.

his has furnished party politicians in both sections with additional fuel for sectional conflagrations. History shows that when the religious sentiment incorporates itself with the political, the most terrible and intolerant fanaticism and bigotry is the result. This mad temper anathematizes all connection, political, social and religious, with slavery, as heresy, and insists upon adhesion to this dogma as the test of orthodoxy, and the essential element of a true Christianity. How inevitably, by the natural laws of our mental constitution, must such a mind be narrow in its vision, passionate in its zeal, rash and denunciatory in its opinions, one-sided and asty in its judgment, intolerant in its charity, and more earthly than heavenly in the means it employs.

Sad Spectacle. Hence it is that this great country and the church embosomed in it, present to the Christian world, and the eye of Heaven, the deplorable spectacle of thousands of Christian brethren, North and South, of a common Saviour, in a common faith and hope, citizens of a common and magnificent country, awaiting a glorious destiny, placed in the centre of the population of the globe, and charged with a more exalted and beneficent mission, for all nations, through all ages, than Divine Providence has ever entrusted to any people arrayed against each other, slandering and vilifying each other's character, faith and hope, while each professes to find this faith and hope in the same infallible records. This unchristian and ruinous strife is not on account of any Christian doctrine, which God has made essential to the regeneration and salvation of the soul, but about a disputed dogma, in morals, and ways and means, for removing an organic institution, providentially thrown upon one party, in part by the agency of the North itself, and at the very dawn of their organic life incorporated into their social existence, so that its removal is now the great question of humanity, civilization and Divine Providence, presented to this country. Both parties long since accepted the popular democratic doctrine on which they together built the institutions of their common inheritance, leaving each to establish its own social, civil and ecclesiastical institutions, without dictation or control, subject only to the organic law of their common country, which spreads its broad shield over each and all their interests. Plainly, neither party is responsible for the institutions of the other, any more than they are for the same institution in Africa or Cuba, or than Christianity is responsible for the existence and continuance of idolatry among half the population of the earth.

Suppose the ambitious politicians of one party, in their strife for place and power, insist on extending slavery, must Northern Christians vilify and slander the character and faith of their Southern brethren, socially and politically connected with their fellow-citizens, when they are providentially in the minority, and yet sincerely deprecate any such extension? So on the other hand, if Northern politicians, in their ambitious strife for place and power, make capital out of the designs of Southern politicians, must Southern Christians denounce all their Northern brethren as fanatics, radicals and traitors? If Southern Christians affirm, We wish slavery removed as soon as it can be done, with a wise regard to the humane interests involved in its removal, and as soon as Providence opens the way for this, must their Northern brethren deny or doubt their sincerity and charge them with hypocrisy? If Southern brethren say to their Northern brethren, Neither our judgment or our conscience approve of the means you propose for the removal of the evil—we live in the midst of it—we have to bear its burdens and responsibilities—we have a right to claim a

better knowledge of the whole matter than you can have—with us it is a practical and humane question, while with you it is a theory and a complex question of morals and of politics,—does wisdom, conscience or Christianity justify their Northern brethren in demanding that they *shall* do it just in *their way and time*, and by the *means* they propose, or they will anathematise them as heretics and unworthy their Christian fellowship and a participation with them in our common inheritance? Is the insolent and dogmatic demand, *you shall and you sha'n't, you can and you must do, as we judge and say, the Christian way* for equal brethren to treat each other or correct the errors and mistakes incident to our fallible humanity and to our Christianity, when so imperfectly developed as yet in good men?

It is lamentable that so many in the North look upon their Southern brethren only as oppressors and man-stealers, inhuman and unmerciful, intent only on maintaining and extending slavery in order to domineer over the Free States. Ultra radical politicians, in both sections, seize hold of this excited and prejudicial feeling, and wield it to hoist themselves into notice and office, under the popular cry of liberty, and as its only worthy champions.

Every sensible Northern man, who has lived or traveled much in the South, well knows that this is caricature, or gross exaggeration of the character of the Christians, the Christianity, and the humanity of the South. So, on the other hand, every candid Southern man, who has been much in the North, knows that the views and prejudices respecting a large body of Northern Christians, which prevail in the South, are unfounded, or so greatly exaggerated that they can see nothing in the North but fanaticism, Garrisonism, infidelity, and a resolute determination to break up the Union in order to free the slaves. They have come to look upon the whole Northern pulpit as prostituted to preaching a political anti-slavery crusade, and to slandering their character, churches, piety, humanity and patriotism. Alas that there should be so much occasion for this latter conclusion!

Every high-minded man, Christian and patriot, must deplore this lamentable state of things, so injurious to piety, so dishonorable to Christianity, and so destructive to our fond hopes and honorable destiny.

The Great Want of our Day. What can remedy this sad alienation of brethren but a better knowledge of each other—of the real character, facts, design and circumstances respecting each other. Let the Southern man of a wise discrimination and honest mind, capable of estimating things and facts in their relation gathered from an extensive acquaintance with the North, publish to his brethren the results. Let such a Northern man, in like manner well acquainted with the South, give to his brethren the result of his observations. *Light, light* from both sections is greatly needed to dispel the darkness. *Facts*, not fiction, *truth*, not caricature, respecting the actual working of slavery and the treatment and true condition of the bond race, as a whole—not merely the instances of wrong and violence incident to the relation and to which one in a dependent condition is everywhere liable—comparing the condition and character of the race *now* with what it was fifty years ago. Let Christians of each section candidly study the real facts and spirit which make the character of each other, in the spirit of the 13 chap. 2 Cor. I will honor the man *who* will aid them to do this. I will adorn his brow with the richest wreath, and record his name on the most enduring marble, and while I live supplicate for him the blessing promised to the peace maker. If

RICHMOND, VA., July, 1857.

proof be wanted of the bad temper of our times, it is found in the fact that so few in the North carefully read and candidly consider such testimony. Dr. Adams must wait years, before reproach, sarcasm and scorn cease to pour their vials on his honest head and kind heart, from some who have not even read his "South Side." How few anti-slavery men read candidly a Southern book on slavery. The able, candid and logical work of Professor Bledsoe of the University of Virginia, is not known or read, except by here and there one, in the North. When Dr. N. L. Rice of St. Louis addressed his frank and fraternal letter to his ministerial brethren in New England, how many of them scornfully turned their back upon it.

When a member of one of the ministerial associations of Massachusetts moved that the body call upon the association to which the venerable President of Dartmouth College belonged, to discipline him for publishing his letters on slavery to Northern presbyters and ministers of all denominations, the mover was quietly asked if he had read the letters. His negative answer killed his motion, and should have crimsoned his cheek.

The late book of Dr. Ross on Slavery some of your secular and religious papers treat with contempt and ridicule, as if it was an impossibility for a Southern Christian or gentleman to publish or know anything on the subject worthy a candid thought. If any of our Northern journals have even attempted, in an honorable manner, to refute the terse argument or invalidate the facts of that book, or have shown that his Scripture authority is not sustained by a true interpretation of the language, it has escaped my knowledge.

Who is the man that has attempted to overthrow the main principle on which Dr. Lord vindicates Divine Providence in the existence of slavery? Some dabbles have shot their puny arrow spitefully at him.

Can you tell me of the man who reverences God, his word and providence, that has attempted to do this in the kind, calm, Christian temper and the iron logic in which they are written? How few of his co-presbyters have taken the trouble even to read a page of his able letters. Condemn unheard and unread, is too often the charity and candor of such anti-slavery men. *Away with him, away with him*, he is *pro-slavery*! If any man, however competent, dare vindicate Divine Providence or the Bible, or any man's candor or veracity touching slavery, such is the unchristian and unmanly temper of too many, even Christian men, in the North, that they kindle into a flame of passion at the mention of his name.

I submit to candid minds, of how much respect is that man's opinion worth, on *any subject*, who studies the facts and circumstances relative to *only* one side or one aspect of that subject? Who can respect the opinion of a man who turns his ears and his eyes from competent testimony respecting the good results, while he opens both to the bad of slavery—an institution whose existence is nearly coeval with that of man, and has come down to us through both dispensations as a great historical and providential fact in the history of a depraved world, and is recognized in nearly every book of the sacred records, from Genesis to Revelation? Do candid, large-minded men usually so treat a great historical and providential problem, and scorn the teachings of Divine Providence and of history respecting God's design in permitting it?

The next fanatical step to which such a temper almost inevitably leads will be considered in my next letter.

Yours,

o. c.

The rash and unchristian temper producing such hasty and uncharitable opinions and feelings as I described in my last, is developing its legitimate and logical consequences, in the fast progress which some, at least, of these men are making, from moderate conservatism, through a semi-infidelity respecting the Bible, facts and the evident designs and teachings of Divine Providence, toward the bold infidelity of the Garrison and Parker school. Before I left the North for this tour, I was grieved and amazed at this fact, by actual discussion with Christian ministers, and D.D.'s. Some, who eighteen months since declared to me that they did not believe what is called the sin "*per se*" doctrine—that the simple holding, or owning slaves, was in *itself* sinful—and admitted that all the sin was in the *abuse* of the master's power over the slave, now boldly denounce such a distinction as a mere *ficion*, and affirm that any, and all holding of men in bondage is *the great sin*. Is not that a long step toward fanaticism, and near to the deep abyss of —? Let history, and the language of the Bible fairly interpreted, answer. The history of the race is only the record of His providential government over the world, and His providence is only one way of his manifesting himself to us, and teaching us his design in any great and long-existing system, or historical fact.

Until the cause of slavery is found in the *entire natural moral alienation* of the race from their Creator; and that cause necessitating it as much as the same cause does wars and idolatry; and hence slavery has existed and will continue to exist—until Christianity, as the divine antagonist to all sin so regenerates and elevates the race, as to throw it off by its own inherent force—and until *REDEMPTION, by the Gospel*, is admitted now to be God's chief end in preserving and governing this depraved race, every man of which has forfeited, as to any claim on Divine Justice, another moment's existence in this world, many will fall into erroneous doctrines and unhallowed tempers respecting slavery, its necessity, and God's providential and greatly beneficent ultimate design in permitting it. Hence it is, that so many, whose theology denies the great biblical and historical fact of the universal moral depravity of the race, will and do embrace and propagate these errors, and will be so passionate and denunciatory in treating slavery.

We believe in no depravity which God causes. He originally made man *upright and pure*. But man, universally, and in every age, has alienated his own heart from God, by expelling *Him* from its throne, and enthroning an idol in *His* place. Not only the Bible and history, but universal consciousness prove this. Those who turn away from the God-ward side of this great problem of slavery—the cause which necessitates *His* great design in so overruling that evil for ultimate good, which the wickedness of the race morally compels Him to permit, that he can redeem some rather than destroy the entire race, and who look only at the mere *human and earthly side*—will and must, judge erroneously of God in permitting it, and of the man who wisely, comprehensively and patiently deals with it. Hence, so many have so hastily adopted the uncharitable and unchristian dogma, as the essential element of true Christianity, viz: that, the holding of slaves in a Christian land is so *inherently and necessarily vicious* that it necessarily and universally vitiates the character, the Christianity, the piety, the conscience, the humanity and manliness of all who have any connection with the

stitution—that the conscience and judgment of Christian ministers are so vitiated by slavery, that while they may preach some truth, they fail to preach that *essential* truth, which God has ordained and promised to bless, to the regeneration and salvation of the soul, and to the edification of his church.

Now, if this assumption is true, then it logically follows that the States in which this institution has existed for two hundred years, are one great putrid community of barbarism, inhumanity, ignorance, wickedness and pollution, without God in the world. That *two hundred years* is sufficient to work out the legitimate results of slavery in these respects none can deny. But do these results *demonstrate* the premises which *must*, if true, *necessitate* them? Will any *honest* man believe that such are the results?

Presumptive Evidence. What are the facts?

The presumptive evidence that the theory of the inherent viciousness of slavery in the South is not true is: 1st, the fact that those States were settled and their institutions organized by people of the Anglo-Saxon race, and who emigrated from the then most Christian and civilized nation on earth. 2d. They brought with them the same Bible and Protestant Christianity, with its reformed doctrines, which the New England Pilgrims brought with them, and like them incorporated these into their earliest organic institutions, civil, social and religious. 3d. Their doctrinal formulas, or theological creeds, have been uniformly and universally, with quite limited exceptions from the first, those of the reformed churches of Evangelical Christendom—Romanism has hardly a footing, and where it originally had, it is waning. What are considered in New England heterodox churches are scarcely known in the South. But one such maintains even a feeble existence in Virginia.

Out of a few cities in other States, none are found, and but eight in the five Atlantic Slave States. Errors in religious doctrine exist, but to a much more limited extent than in the North. Immoral practices also exist, but not more extensively than in the North. Wrongs, violence, fraud and other vices exist, as in every Christian land: is the North so pure in this respect that she is justified in casting the first stone? My observation warrants me to say, that what are called the lower class are quite as reverent of God's name, day, word, ordinances, ministry, and sacred things generally, as the same class North are, and many think more so.

Positive Evidence. From the presumptive, we should legitimately infer the following *positive* evidence to refute the doctrine of the *inherent viciousness* of the system. Having obtained, from a reliable source here, the following ecclesiastical statistics, I submit them to candid men. As they are obtained in the same way, they are as accurate as such statistics of the Northern churches. The regular Evangelical Baptist churches number 89,310 members, one-third of which are colored people. The Episcopal Methodist, 88,356, one-third of which are colored. The Protestant Methodist, 5,182, one-fourth colored. Both branches of the Presbyterian churches 17,489, one in twenty colored. Episcopal churches 6500; only three of these churches are tainted with Puseyism. Lutheran 6240. The United Brethren are numerous and Evangelical. The Campbellites are numerous, and many of them exemplary for piety. There are several minor sects who are Evangelical in sentiment; the statistics of these latter churches I could not obtain but they are estimated to number at least 10,000 members. The aggregate membership of these churches in Virginia is 222,000. This number is that one in seven of all the

population of this State, black and white, are in fellowship with Evangelical churches, and one in five and a half of all the colored people. This I believe is a larger per centage of the population than is found of the population of New England in fellowship with Evangelical churches. But Northern prejudice pronounces the piety of negroes in Virginia ignorant, fanatical and unstable. Ought we not to expect a more charitable judgment from those who claim to be par excellence, the friends of these people? Suppose it is as ignorant as was that of the penitent thief on the cross with his expiring Lord? May there not be *grace in the heart* with much ignorance in the *head*. Is negro piety the only piety which is ignorant, fanatical and unstable? Let the history of some of our Northern churches, and of the Evangelical churches of Christendom generally, answer. Judged by the impartial standard—

according to what each man hath—of the final Judge, which will decide the character and destiny of us all in the final day, may it not be found that the piety of the more simple and ignorant black man is as safe for him as that of his white brother, to whom more has been given, is for him? It is easy, and not uncommon, to doubt and slander the piety of negro churches. Let the testimony to their piety of such men as Bishop Mead, Rev. Dr. Leland, Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary of South Carolina, and hundreds of the pastors of Baptist and Methodist churches in the South, who for long life have been intimately acquainted with these negro churches, refute such ignorance and arrogance. These are men whose candor, knowledge and experience render their testimony worthy of respect, at least. These good men testify that, considering the difference in advantages, privileges and condition, the character of the negro church, for piety and morality generally, stands quite as fair as does that of the white churches.

Why should not the more favored Christian look with the same charitable eye on the good in his weaker brother, that he does on his own good qualities, according to the Divine direction, "Let nothing be done through *strife* or *vain glory*, but in *lowliness* of mind let each esteem *other better* than themselves." "Look not every man on his *own* things [i.e. goodness], but every man also on the *things* of others"—the good qualities of others. This is the mind of our common Saviour and Judge. Why should not a good man rejoice that anybody, in this depraved world, is good in *any* degree, however imperfect it may be, whether he be black or white, bond or free, "*Whatsoever* things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be *any virtue*, if there be *any praise*, think on these things"—not so exclusively on the imperfections of any good man, till we can see *nothing* good in him. Is not our Northern charity at fault in its judgment of our Southern colored and white brethren?

There is in this city, Richmond, a church composed exclusively of colored members, which numbers at least 2500 communicants. The Rev. Dr. Ryland, President of the Baptist College, has the oversight of this church, though not statedly preaching to it. Go into their spacious house of worship on the Sabbath, and you will find it filled to the utmost with a congregation as respectably clad, as reverent, devout and decorous in their worship, as you will find any Northern congregation, save in their singing, and in responding to what interests their simple minds and warm hearts. As to their ability to read, I learned this fact: that Dr. Ryland found in singing from memory, that, not knowing the words of their hymns correctly, they did not articulate them right. To correct this, he had an edition of 1500

copies of their most favorite hymns published for their especial use, but found he had not enough to supply a copy to each one who could read.

It is well known that it is common for servants in families in the South, especially long resident in cities, to be readers, and that, on many plantations, the wife of the masters and their daughters devote a portion of the Sabbath to teaching their servants to read the Scriptures. The law does not allow colored children to be worked on the farm till 12 years of age, nor adults on Saturday afternoon, nor on the Sabbath. Some masters employ teachers for these children in these years. No law of any slave State forbids *masters* to teach their slaves, nor to have them taught by teachers the masters approve. The law gives them the power to decide *who* may teach their servants, just as Northern laws give power to the Northern parent to decide *who* may teach his own children.

In my next I will send you collateral evidence of the falsity of the dogma of the inherent viciousness of slavery, which the last United States census furnishes.

Yours,

O. C.

Number VIII.

MASSACHUSETTS, Aug. 1857.

While at the South, I found that intelligent Christian men confidently appealed to the facts disclosed by the U. S. Census of 1850, in refutation of the Northern doctrine respecting the vicious influence of slavery on the social, moral, and religious welfare of their society. Since my return, I have examined the Census, to ascertain the truth on this subject.

But before I give you the facts, as found in the Census, I resume the subject of my last letter, and present two more facts, refuting the doctrine of the inherent viciousness of slavery, as necessarily vitiating the Christianity, piety, morals and humanity of the community among whom it exists.

1. The preaching of the Gospel, *without* the Northern anti-slavery element, by Evangelical ministers in the five Atlantic slave States, for two hundred years, has been blessed of God to the conversion of men to Christ—the edification and enlargement of His Church—to the promotion of morality—the education and elevation of society in general,—as the same preaching has been blessed in the Free States, considering the disadvantages of the former, in being more sparsely settled, and thus unable to unite, on the social principle, in supporting educational and religious agencies to the same extent as the North has been able to do for this purpose. He who will consult the religious journals of the last twenty years, will find that the churches and ministry of the South have been blessed with as extensive and as pure revivals of religion as have the Northern churches and ministry: and they believe more so, in proportion to the population who can avail themselves of such preaching and means. They challenge an appeal to *facts* on this subject.

2. The religious, moral and intellectual character of the slaves and their social condition, has steadily improved in the last forty years. Their humane treatment and general well-being has also kept pace with this.

A gentleman who has, during the last ten years, traveled in every county in Virginia, and was in daily intercourse with the people, told the writer that he met but with one instance of personal violence to a slave, and that not excessive, and in that case the slave deserved chastisement for his willful neglect of a plain duty. This is the testimony of many, long resident in the South, and well acquainted

with the past and present condition, character and treatment of the slaves.

3. *The facts furnished by the last U. S. Census refute this Northern dogma of the inherent viciousness of slavery.*

In ascertaining the facts bearing on this question I compare the five old Atlantic slave States with the six New England States. These five States were settled at, or about the same time with New England and in those slavery has had two hundred years to work out its results on religion and morals—a sufficient time to determine the question we are considering.

In ascertaining the effects of slavery upon religion and morals, it is just and proper that an allowance be made for the moral and religious character of the men who originally settled in these two sections and founded their institutions. New England was settled by Puritans of decidedly orthodox sentiments in religion—of a high-tone religious conscientiousness and personal piety. These five slave States were either settled, or received character from cavaliers—many of them the offshoots of a effete aristocracy—men of broken fortunes, adventurers and gamblers, and strongly tinged with infidelity, and subject in their outset and onward progress, to all the influences of slavery, be they good or bad.

“The stream in its onward flow does not carry with more certainty, the characteristics of the fountain, than does progressive society, *generally*, the moral, social and religious characteristics of it origin.”

Accommodations for Hearing the Gospel. The preaching of the gospel is the grand means which Divine wisdom has ordained for the salvation of men because faith in the gospel, makes men Christians. Faith cometh by hearing. A Christian people will manifest their interest in the gospel, and the power it has in them, by their zeal to provide for themselves, and for their fellow men suitable accommodation for steadily worshipping God and hearing the gospel preached.

On this subject the Census of 1850 teaches the following facts: The population of New England then was 2,723,016. The free population of the five Atlantic slave States, 2,730,214—an excess over the former of only 2198. This excess I omit, and regard them as equal. New England had, in 1850 4607 church edifices, valued at \$19,362,634. These five slave States had 8081 church edifices, valued at \$11,140, 218. The New England churches will accommodate 1,893,450 hearers. The churches of the slave States will accommodate 2,896,472 hearers. Thus we see that with an expenditure less by one third, “these slave States, with an equal free population, have erected nearly double the number of churches, and furnished accommodation for upward of a million more persons to *hear the Gospel* than can be accommodated in New England.” “In New England, 934,536 of its population (which is nearly one-third) are excluded from a seat in houses built expressly to enable people to hear the Gospel. In these five Southern States there is room enough for every hearer that could be crowded into the churches of New England, and then room enough left to accommodate a million of slaves.” If we include *slaves* these five Southern states have a population of 724, 410 more than New England; yet, while there are 724,410 persons less in New England to provide for there are 200,000 more persons in New England who cannot find a seat in the house of God to hear the Gospel, than there are in these *five slave States*. True, the New England churches have cost one third more than the Southern churches; but do costly churches accommodate the poor? Can the

is afford to worship in them? Do they attract the people to hear the Gospel? Let the thousands who neglect the house of God in New England answer. The costly churches are neither suitable nor proper for the preaching of the Gospel to those most needing it, and most unable to pay, and yet most likely to neglect it. Does this prove slavery to be inherently vicious after two hundred years trial?

Orthodox Christianity. Another fact shown by the Census disproves this dogma. We must remember that New England was settled by Orthodox Christians, of more than ordinary zeal for pure religion, and the five slave States by formalists and officers, with slavery imposed on them eight years or their origin. Yet at the end of more than a hundred years, we find that of 4607 churches in New England in 1850, in 487 of these churches other Gospel, as now so regarded by the Orthodox, was so regarded by the Puritans themselves, preached; 285 of these are Universalist churches. Five of the 8,081 churches which exist in the five slave States, only eight have departed from the Orthodox faith, and seven of these are Universalist. Now is this remarkable fact to be accounted for on the anti-slavery theory? Has New England Orthodoxy, universal personal freedom and education, used this remarkable difference, while slaveholders and slavery have begotten so little heresy in the same time? These are the facts given to the world by men under oath, in the United States Census of 1850. I leave your readers to draw their own conclusions. One of these conclusions, by all candid men, must be that the facts annihilate the Orthodox dogma; and another must be that there is nothing else in this country to corrupt religion and morals, according to the New England standards, besides slaveholders and slavery.

Isms. There is another consideration bearing on its question, and which thoughtful men will regard—the *isms at the North*. Is not their name given? "According to the standards of our Orthodoxy, we are compelled to exclude many of these *isms* from the pale of Christianity." "What are the relative proportions of such of these *isms*, North and South, as have been nurtured into organized existence, we have no means of knowing." The Census does not take cognizance of them. Their kind and number is not susceptible of analysis and proof by facts and figures. Yet I am told by a gentleman extensively acquainted in the five slave States, that he might devote years to travel in them and not find one with an *organized* existence. To find a single individual, would be doing what no Southern man, of whom I have ever heard, has yet done. But how is it in New England? Do they not spring up everywhere, like Jonah's gourd? "Some are warring with untiring zeal against the social, some against the moral, and some against the religious institutions of society." Why is this? Slavery has not produced these. Reverence for the Bible could not produce them. How is their utter absence at the South to be accounted for, where the institution of slavery is assumed to be so vital to morality, religion, and social order? Is not this a mysterious fact, according to the logic of anti-slaveryism?

Do not these facts and the results of the Census utterly contradict the theory of these men? Must not Northern candor admit that, if no good thing can come out of our Southern Nazareth, there yet exists some good things there, which two hundred years of slavery have not destroyed?

Homes. But there is still another class of significant facts disclosed by the Census of 1850. One important element to the prosperity, morality, and cohesion of a community is *families with homes*, for

the virtuous training of the household. "States are made up of families. Wealth, so distributed as to give the greatest number of homes to the families which compose a State, is a blessing," and the reverse of this is a curse to the families and the State. "Home is the nursery and shield of virtue. No right-minded man or woman, who had the means, could ever consent to have a family without a home."

New England has 518,532 families and 447,789 dwellings. The five slave States have 506,968 families and 496,369 dwellings. Here we have the remarkable fact that, with an equal population, New England has 11,564 more families than these five slave States, and that these five slave States have 48,584 more dwellings than New England—so that the latter actually has 70,743 *without a home!* In New England, one family in every seven is without a home; while in these five old slave States, only one family in *fifty-two* is without a home.

According to the average number of persons (5) composing a family, New England has 353,716 of her people thrown upon the world without a place to call home. Whatever may be the evils slavery inflicts upon a community, it has not, in two hundred years' experiment, made so many families *homeless* as are found where it does not exist, and thus deprived parents of this shield of protection to their children, and guard against the demoralizing tendencies of a homeless condition.

Increase of Population. You well know how common it has been for us in the North to boast of the increase of our population. With such a climate as we have, it was to be expected that our people would increase faster, and live longer than the people in the climate of these old slave States. You well know that a large part of the population of these five Atlantic slave States have an insalubrious climate to contend with. In accordance with all experience, in similar circumstances, the pro rata number of births should be *less* and that of deaths *greater*. But notwithstanding the climate and slavery, the Census testifies that there is 27 per cent. more of births, and 33 per cent. less of deaths, in the five slave States than there is in the six New England States.

With an equal population, and 11,564 more families, New England has 16,534 *less* annual births, and 10,152 *more* annual deaths than these five unhealthy slave States. The annual births in New England are 61,148, and in the five slave States 77,683. In the former the annual deaths are 42,368, and in the latter 32,216. In New England the ratio of births is one to 44; in the five slave States it is one to 35. In New England the ratio of deaths is 1 to 64; in the five slave States it is 1 to 85. The *slaves* are not included in this estimate of births and deaths; they are however in the census, and that shows that they multiply considerably faster, and are less liable to die than the freemen of New England. Slavery then does not increase the mortality of the people among whom it has existed over 200 years.

The Census contradicts this theory. Will excluding slavery from a community cause the people to multiply more rapidly and die slower? The Census says no; for this testifies that the proportion of births is 27 per cent. greater, and the proportion of deaths 33 per cent. less, *slaves not included*, and even under all the deleterious influences of a sickly climate, and where slavery has existed for seven generations, than in a more salubrious climate and where slavery does not exist. These facts demand serious consideration, especially by those who so confidently and violently denounce their Christian brethren for not believing in the *inherent vicious-*

ness of slavery, and not freeing their slaves at once. How are these facts explained?

Poverty of the two Sections. The Census discloses a degree of poverty in New England which deprives 70,000 families of a home. *This*, or some other equally potent cause, drives 135 per cent. more of her population to her poor-houses than is found in the poor-houses in these five slave States. This is no condition of things to increase births or diminish deaths. In every country there are those who must either be supported by charity or perish of want. Their destitution arises, generally, from idleness, oppressive exactions or excessive vice. The social institutions of a State should be such as to secure the greatest amount of individual prosperity and comfort.

With an equal population, New England has 33,431 paupers—these five slave States have 14,221. The former has an excess of paupers over the latter of 35 per cent. If to this estimate we add the number (as given in our State returns) that are partially aided in New England, the per centage would be much larger. Then it is to be considered that a larger proportion of *foreigners* are thrown upon New England: yet we must remember, in this comparison, that these foreigners were not trained *amid slavery*, and came not from lands where negro slavery exists, but from the lands of the *white man*, and of freedom.

In the Census, *foreign* paupers are distinguished from *native-born* citizens; I exclude these in both sections, in this comparison. The number of paupers will then be: for New England, 18,966; for the five Slave States, 11,728—leaving to the former 7238 more of her *native* sons in the poor-house, or nearly 70 per cent., than are found in this condition in the latter, with an equal population.

The ratio of the *entire* population of the former in the poor-house is 1 to 81; the ratio of the *entire* population of the latter is 1 to 171. The ratio of the *native sons* of New England in her poor-houses is 1 to 143; of these five slave States it is 1 to 171.

Insanity. By the Census I find another remarkable development. In New England 3,829 of her white children have been crushed by suffering, of some sort, to the condition of *insanity*; while in these five old slave States there are only 2326 of her white children in this sad condition. Here is a difference of more than 60 per cent. in favor of these five States! But how is it with the *free* black children of New England—many of whom have fled from bondage to her freedom, in regard to another important item of human well-being?

Deaf or Dumb. Among the *free* negroes of New England one is deaf or dumb for every 3005; while among the slaves of these five States there is only 1 for every 6552. In the former one free negro is blind for every 870; while in the latter there is one blind slave for every 2645. In the former, there is one free negro insane, or an idiot, for every 980; while in the latter there is but one slave in this condition for every 3680.

Can any man believe, with these facts before him, that freedom, to the colored race in New England, has proved a blessing to them, or that slavery is to them a curse in these Southern States? The facts I have now examined, not only annihilate the anti-slavery dogma that slavery is inherently vicious, but show that religion has prospered, after an experiment of 200 years, among slaveholders at the South, more than it has at the North among freemen. They have made more extensive and suitable provision, for the people of all classes, to hear the Gospel preached, than New England has done. They have more extensively excluded the attempts to corrupt the Gospel and mislead the

people; among them organized bodies to overthrow the moral, social and religious institutions of society are unknown. What prospect, nay, what *possibility* is there, that our Northern denunciation or vituperative treatment of the South will ever convince them, that slavery is *vicious*, or a curse to the white or colored race?

Crime. A late Southern writer says: "Ex-Governor Smith, in his message to the Legislature Virginia, showed that seven-tenths more of crime was chargeable to *free* negroes than to the *whites* and *slaves*. By the census of 1850, the ratio whites in the Penitentiary of Virginia, for ten years was 1 to 23,003, while the ratio for free negroes was 1 to 3001. For the same length of time, in the State Prison of Massachusetts, the average of whites was 1 to 7587, instead of 1 to 23,003, as in Virginia and in Massachusetts the average of *free* negroes the State Prison, for the same period, was 1 to 25 instead of 1 to 3000, as in Virginia. Here we see that, for an average of ten years, 250 *free* negroes at the North, commit annually as much crime as 23,005 white persons at the South; and that 250 *free* negroes, in a non-slaveholding State, commit annually as much crime as 3001 *free* negroes in a *slave* holding State. We see, also, that 7587 white persons at the *North*, commit annually as much crime as 23,003 white persons commit at the South. In the cities of the North, crime and degradation from three to five times more with the whites than at the South, and from ten to ninety-three times greater with the *free* negroes at the *North*, than with the whites at the South, and about twelve times greater than with the *free* negroes at the South. Can we, with these facts before us, think that freedom to this race, in our country, is a blessing to them?" "In Africa, the condition of the aboriginal is now, and ever has been, as much below that of their enslaved sons in these States, as the condition of a brute is beneath that of a man." Of the 50,000,000 of the negro race in Africa, 40,000,000 are slaves, and their condition, in every respect, infinitely worse than that of their brethren in bondage here. "Slavery," says this Southern author, "is becoming to this people so manifestly a blessing in our country, that fugitives from us are constantly returning to their masters again, after tasting the blessings, rather, as they find by experience, a curse to them of the freedom they sought in the non-slaveholding States. While I write, those who are lawfully free in this State (Virginia) are praying our Legislature for a law that will allow them to become slaves."

I have given the facts from the Census, as they find them, and believe them to be facts and on which they base their judgment. *They* did not make the facts; I do not make them. They are made of the materials, collected under oath, and by direction of the United States government, and sanctioned and published by authority of Congress. They are made by a higher than human power. The record is open to all. If falsified, let this be shown. But until this is done, they remain *facts*; and will be relied on by the South, in their reasoning on the subject, and in deciding their judgment and in shaping the policy and their humanity for the slaves. But if they not prove too much by proving that slavery, after 200 years' experiment, has proved a blessing to both races? That is your inference, but not in object in citing these facts. Doubtless they do prove much more than many are willing to believe. This may be a logical sequence. "If so, they must, in time revolutionize the prevailing Northern sentiment." That may be; and if it should, would that be a strange thing in the history of human opinions? Did not the *facts* ascertained by Copernicus and Galileo, respecting the spherical form of our

met, and its rotary motion change the prevailing doctrine of the learned world in their day on the subject of astronomy? Our Southern brethren feel at these results of the Census placed then in an unequal position before the civilized world, and eagerly wait for the storm of Northern fanaticism to spend its strength, to hear the verdict of reason, humanity and the world. In view of these facts, but but the veriest insanity, would ever dream at this anti-slavery crusade could change our opinions or policy respecting slavery, or that it could ever benefit the black or the white slave; or move slaveholders to do anything but to strengthen the institution, and to build hospitals for those who are so mad as to war against it in the *evil* and with the *means* these men employ. Must I these men at length see that there is, *in reality*, *higher law* controlling and shaping this great problem—*higher than their wisdom* has devised, or our power can enact or execute—*higher than mere statutory enactments*—a law so *supremely* *ph* that it guides the hand of the Sovereign of the universe, so to administer his providential government over this fallen world as to make all things, *ly* as well as wisdom, the bad as well as the good, converge ultimately and harmoniously to *this one end and design*, the redemption and restoration to friendship, of a great multitude of our race, such no man can number, out of all nations, kindreds, people and tongues. In doing this He will advance, by the same means, the civilization, virtue and well-being of every tribe, nation and race

of the human family, as fast and as far as, in the nature of things, this can be done, by infinite wisdom and goodness. Let our modern philanthropists learn by the teachings of history and Providence, to be more wise, patient, reasonable and reverent in dealing with this subject. Would it not be wise for our higher-law politicians to look a little higher, and pay a little more respect and reverence to the *true and real higher law* which controls their folly and the universe, instead of despising it, as one of them did when he publicly and irreverently declared: "We want a new anti-slavery constitution, a new anti-slavery Bible, and a new anti-slavery God." For, who that is familiar with the history of this anti-slavery crusade, both in this country and in England, for the last thirty years, does not know that the higher law of Divine Providence has so controlled *their measures*, as to strengthen and extend slavery in this country, instead of lessening it, or in mitigating its abuses. In producing the West India Emancipation, have they not increased the slave power in this country and in Brazil, and made emancipation a curse to the colored race in those colonies? If the facts, stated in this and my previous letters, do not annihilate the doctrine of the viciousness of slavery, I submit to the judgment of candid men whether, the long and well established doctrine, that there is a certain and inevitable connection between cause and effect, and that the effect partakes of the nature of the cause producing it, is not here a failure, contradicting the philosophy and the logic of ages.

Yours,

o. c.